1:Vanhove--14A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 18]

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Two Bahutu mothers, their heads encircled with the urugori greet each other.
(Official photograph, Colonial Office)

439 of officials and military men. The natives eagerly snatch it up.
177 Yet at the time of King Kisabo the chiefs strictly banned the wearing of cotton material for they suspected quite rightly that, together with the foreign merchants and goods, other influences would soon be introduced which might undermine their sovereignty.

291 Apart from the bark material which predominates, goat skins (ikikoba, urusato) are also worn as loincloths, with the fur side inward; they are the only clothing for children, poor people, and mostly for the Batwa also (Plate 7). In northeastern Urundi, in the Bugufi district, hide cloaks are worn more often than those made from bark (No. 8, p. 61). All over Urundi the
● [954] women, in addition to the loincloth of hide or bark material, around the upper part of the body wear a quadrilateral piece of hide or bark material, tied in a knot at the shoulder; it is used to carry the youngest child on the back. The men wear a larger, toga-like garment, held up by a knot at the shoulders and falling down over the knees. The knots at the shoulders are often decorated with a few large tassels of dry banana bast which look like gigantic major's epaulets (Plate 11a, 14a).

287 Barkcloth (impusu) -- Stuhlmann calls it "bast felt" (No.
386 32a, p. 35) -- has an advantage over hide and cotton materials in that it is very light, warm, and permeable, but its production requires work, and since it frays out after longer wear, it soon becomes full of holes and frayed and looks very shabby (Plates 9, 13a). Add to this the usually very dismal, dark gray color. By nature it is brown. In a very few cases it is dyed red with laterite or plant juices (for mourning), or it is decorated with
[531] black designs shaped like spindles, leaves, or circles against its natural reddish-brown background. Usually it is dyed a dark gray with wood ashes, argillite, or mud from the swamps, and then it is a deplorable sight. When a large number of people dressed in this manner happen to stand together in a crowd, the many black-clothed figures, [31] combined with the smooth-shaven skulls and flashing spears which are carried by everyone, form a very impressive total picture of great somberness. We again find this simple method of dyeing in Unjoro, the most northerly area to which the Bahima extend; Vandeleur writes

000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see
also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's
575 clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are
no special women's houses.

2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a
people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi,
probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force
available to the parents and the better are the prospects of
obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be
[832] married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of
herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359).
As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is
particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the
husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove
the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (kukororа) is
induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions
made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret
science among the women, and the men do not appear to have
any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[673] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [110] by the head
man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in
Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions
is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
● 854 have as many children as possible. One frequently sees fathers
tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

551 Father Gassldinger erroneously connects with the fear of death: nsujimbwa, dog kennel; sembwa, father of a dog; inangurube, pig's mother; kabwebwe, jackal; kabaragassa, flea; somojindi, human excrement. Others are: ruteratschuma, he hurls the iron; ndarusanse, I have hit it; ntamavukiro, homeless; rurihasi, he is near; ruronona, he is the destroyer; rutakaje, he has been lost [112] (No. 46, 1913, p. 13). In addition to his proper name, each child also bears the name of its clan and is given one or more nicknames which it retains even as an adult. The true names of children or adults are only reluctantly revealed to strangers because it is assumed that the latter, by knowing the name, may obtain magical power over its bearer which they might abuse to cause him harm (see p. 133).

853 The feeding and rearing of the child are entirely the affair of the mother. She breast feeds it up to the age of three and four years, and it is very amusing to see a strapping little boy run away from his play and up to his mother where he takes a few refreshing draughts from her breast and then once more rejoins his playmates. The children are kept clean and given a bath every day. There are no baskets or cradles where the children may be deposited. As long as the infant is unable to walk properly, it is carried on its mother's back all the time in a carrying sling (impetso) made of goat or sheep skin with openings for the child's head and legs. Even while working in the fields or while dancing, the mother usually keeps the child on her back; its head and legs are then jolted about by the sudden movements as though it were a puppet. Yet this seldom makes the child cry. From time to time the child is taken out of the sling by lifting it gently from the side and allowed to defecate. If it has done so inside the rucksack, the latter and the mother and child are simply washed. Older children are placed astride the left hip of their mother who supports them from behind with her left arm.

854 [515] 854 513 At night the children lie on animal skins on the ground. They are covered with the upper garment of the mother which is made of soft cloth from the bark of the fig tree. Very small children are sometimes caressed with kisses by their mother. Otherwise the Barundi are not familiar with kissing (No. 19,

854 513 p. 63). In order to put the child to sleep and also to soothe it in the daytime, the mother may lightly pat its back and occasionally sing a monotonous "cradle song." Van der Burgt has recorded one in which the evil mother-in-law is mentioned to frighten the child: "Be quiet; otherwise I shall take you to the mother-in-law. She will give you only water. When the cows come home and are milked, you will go hungry. Mother-in-law will not protect you from the sun nor against hunger" (No. 19, p. 71).

861 Spiritually and morally the children grow up wild. There is no effort to cure children of bad habits nor to teach them good ones. As long as the children's bad manners do not inconvenience the parents, they even take pleasure in inciting them to fits of temper, to fight, and to steal. Only in exceptional cases is there any practical training in special jobs and handicrafts. Whatever the children learn is acquired by observation, listening, and by helping with work. From an early age they must help their parents in all their work, and being by nature intelligent and vivacious, they soon become surprisingly independent.

145 864 839 Boys reach puberty (kukura) when they are between 12 to 15 years old, girls even earlier. Long before that, however, they are enlightened about sexual matters and have learned many loathsome things of a sexual nature from those who are older. This does not mean that they have sexual intercourse at a very early age, but onanism and masturbation are widespread vices.

839 [113] About these practices van der Burgt reports (No. 19, p. 361): "Puellae praesertim horibili huic vitio valde deditae sunt, sub praetextu quidem, ut magis aptae fiant matrimonio et viris placeant. In actu ipso nefando quoddam juramentum vel potius imprecationem pronuntiant: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. Insuper variis mediis utuntur ad majorem voluptatem sibi procurandam. Media generatim sunt plantae, vel radices plantarum arborumve, quibus labia perfricantur." [Tr., "The girls especially are given to indulge in this horrible vice at an early age under the pretext that this makes them more fit for

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are correspondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be considered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame. To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious: for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *muzimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and reputation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense

[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

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that they are the almost indispensable means for achieving these ends. The originality of Ruanda culture does not lie in its high valuation of power and fame. These are recognized ends in many cultures. What is distinctive is the paucity and the indispensability of the means provided in that society for effecting these purposes.

An ordinary Muhutu could never hope to achieve a position of power over other men comparable to that which a Mututsi could attain without difficulty. A well-to-do Muhutu could acquire a few servants either by ensuring the subsistence of other Bahutu poorer than himself or, like a Mututsi, by the gift of cattle. But this was not common. Ambition for power is proper to people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. The ultimate value for Bahutu is security, for this means protection from the things our informants say they fear above all: accusations of witchcraft, starvation, and the arbitrary actions of the powerful. There are no direct methods of protecting oneself against the first of these threats. All that can be done preventively is to be a good neighbour, not to be envied by anybody, not to have enemies. . . . But there are ways of reducing the other two dangers and these are the intermediate values which the Bahutu earnestly seek: work, children, and patronage.

Bahutu till the soil from which they have to get subsistence, the tribute demanded by the chief, and perhaps a surplus. This surplus is extremely important because it will enable them to acquire some goats, sheep, even a cow, to have the time to work for their lord, to store enough food to get a few servants who will then increase production. Surpluses may be obtained only by work. That is why, among Bahutu, the man or the woman who works hard and competently is highly considered. Work enables Bahutu to achieve some security against starvation and even to attain moderate wealth.

There is a Ruanda proverb that the dog is not feared because of his fangs but because of his master. This is the main reason why a Muhutu wants to have a patron. A peasant rich enough to own a couple of cows needs the protection of somebody more powerful than himself in order to avoid the arbitrary exactions of some member of the dominant class. Patronage was institutionalized by the *buhake* agreement mentioned above. Like the lord in medieval Europe, the patron was bound to protect his client in most of the dangerous situations of life. A second reason for seeking a patron lay in the material and moral advantages accruing from the possession of cattle.

If we wish to state Bahutu values in more abstract terms, we may say that they seek security through the production of agricultural goods and the protection of a powerful patron.

Although he is not indifferent to his reputation, the Muhutu does not seem to stress its importance as much as does the Mututsi. The reputation he desires reflects the values of his caste. He likes to be considered as

their children just because they are their children. This, of course, exists in Ruanda as in many other cultures.

His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba...," pronounced in a virile tone, recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye...."

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i..." to recall that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

5: Pages--284 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Young Mututsi (Batutsi) woman carrying her baby on the back.

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Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Mututsi type with long tufts of hair.

Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Mututsi type.

Mututsi type.

Banana leaf serving as an umbrella.

A banana leaf shelters a baby's head.

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5: Pages--289 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

291 cord or thong. The free end of this thong is usually cut into several strands and strung with beads of glass or iron (ngimbi). The braided bast cord is called indjishi.

Dressed cowhide has a relatively high value and is worn for several years. When torn, it is mended and carefully sewn together. Not all women, however, can obtain this costly, though

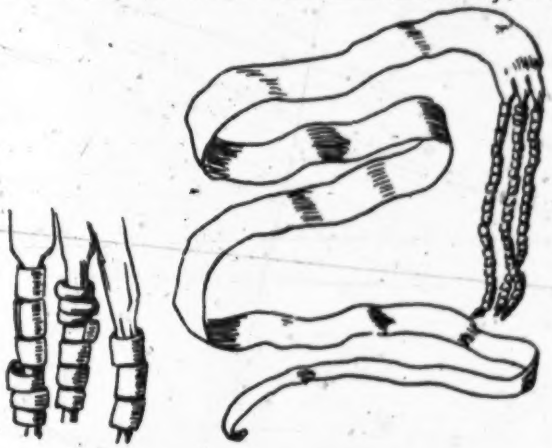

Fig. 60. Woman's Belt from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13701. 145 centimeters long.)

serviceable article of clothing and must wear goat skins and barkcloth (mpuzu), as do the grown girls. Near the missions where work is paid in cloth, they also wear cotton materials in place of cowhides.

To complete a woman's costume, a goat skin is thrown over the shoulders. However, when this article is omitted, the costume is not regarded as incomplete.

[854] Small children are always wrapped in sheepskin and carried on the back. The skin is tied together above and below the mother's breasts with two strips of barkcloth or two pieces of bark from a banana tree. These strips are tied to the leg parts of the skin.

[515] [173] Women who are carrying children usually also carry leaves in their left hand. The leaves are carefully laid together and used to wipe their backs and the child if necessary.

551 are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

842 843 164 If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

845 847 Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

853 Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

[854] 861 Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to

Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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XIII. A Tutsikazi.

XIV. A Hutu "matriarch".

[following p. 215, A]